

1. Introduction

This is the third annual security report of Pakistan by Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS). It has been observed in the past three years that every year brings new security challenges for Pakistan. The influx of Taliban and Al Qaeda in the Federally Administrative Tribal Areas (FATA) and their growing influence in parts of the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), activities of *jihadi* groups throughout the country and of nationalist insurgents in Balochistan remained key security challenges amid increasing number of suicide attacks in 2008. The Mumbai terrorist attacks on November 26, 2008 and the alleged involvement of Pakistani militant group Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) in those attacks led to increasing pressure from the international community for Pakistan to take immediate steps against militant groups based in the country. After officially admitting Ajmal Kasab, the sole surviving gunman of the Mumbai attacks and an alleged LeT member, as a Pakistani national, international pressure can force Islamabad to take stricter action against militant groups operating on its territory. With Pakistan featured as a key priority in the foreign policy of the Obama administration in Washington, 2009 appears to be a challenging year for the government in Islamabad.

The coalition government led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) sent positive signals to the international community about its commitment to the war on terror, and Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani announced the formulation of a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy based on political engagement and economic development, backed by credible military element. Initially, the new government succeeded in developing a consensus resolution on terrorism in parliament but that resolution has not yet been implemented.

President Asif Ali Zardari enhanced engagements with his counterpart in Afghanistan and, as a goodwill gesture, invited Hamid Karzai to his oath-taking in Islamabad. Both leaders issued a joint statement on collaborative efforts to combat terrorism. These efforts helped reduce tensions with Afghanistan but Islamabad can only ease global pressure with a more collaborative and practical approach with Afghan and international forces to resolve the conflict on the country's western borders. Without such an effort, there are growing apprehensions that the likely deployment of 30,000 additional US troops in Afghanistan would push

more militants into Pakistan from the Afghan side of the border and aggravate the security scenario in the region. While the government is trying to come to grips with this huge challenge, another major test it faces is the harmonization of internal security policy with its regional and international commitments, given the fact that United States and India have questioned the government's efforts to eradicate the network of militant organizations in Pakistan after the Mumbai attacks.

It is hoped that the PIPS Security Report 2008 will provide insights useful in formulating future policies and strategies to deal with these important security issues. The report contains comprehensive data on terrorist attacks, changing tactics and targets, as well as government strategies and responses. It discusses the state of political violence in the country and the situation at its borders, with a view to facilitate an understanding of the security landscape of the country.

The PIPS database and archives are the basic sources for its reports on conflict and security, which are prepared weekly, monthly and annually. The PIPS annual security report is the outcome of yearlong monitoring of every single relevant incident in the

country on a daily basis. Archives containing details of terrorist and insurgent attacks, tribal clashes, sectarian terrorism, ethno-political violence, cross-border attacks and clashes, operational attacks by the security forces and clashes with militants, kidnappings, and search-and-arrest operations by law enforcement agencies are maintained on a daily basis by monitoring the print and electronic media. Every incident is reconstructed and analyzed regarding its nature, casualties, tactics used by terrorist groups, their targets, weapons used, and their capabilities. A regular follow up is maintained in every incident in liaison with PIPS correspondents to keep track of day-to-day developments on the incident.

The many resources PIPS uses to compile data include newspapers, magazines, journals, field sources and screening of official records. More than 30 daily English and Urdu newspapers, magazines, and journals, and various TV news channels are monitored daily to update the PIPS database. Regional daily newspapers and weeklies from Peshawar, Quetta, Gilgit and Karachi are also

consulted for details about incidents reported locally. Correspondents in provincial capitals are the primary source for PIPS to countercheck the details of incidents reported in the media. In case of a major incident, PIPS teams consult local administration and journalists as well. In some cases, PIPS finds it difficult to countercheck the number of casualties. In such instances, official statements in this regard are given preference.

Special interviews with provincial police heads, political leaders, security experts and senior journalists were also conducted for an in-depth analysis of the security situation in Pakistan during 2008.

The report generally uses commonly understandable terms. But to grasp the nature of security threats and government responses specific terminology has been used. For example, the term 'operational attacks' refers to the security forces' operations against terrorists. Another term, 'political violence' refers to incidents involving political parties, including clashes between rival political groups or attacks on offices or individuals, irrespective of the ethnic, social or religious context. For example, clashes between the Muttahida Qaumi Movement -- an ethno-political party with support in major urban centers in the Sindh province, especially in Karachi, and representing the Urdu-speaking population -- and the Sunni Tehrik, a sectarian religious group, fall into this category.

Conflict between rival sectarian groups or tribes has been described as 'sectarian clashes', which mainly hit Kurram Agency in Pakistan's Tribal Areas, as well as DI Khan and Hangu districts of NWFP last year.

With a view to understanding the targets, tactics and capabilities of terrorists, the types of attacks and weapons they used are listed and divided into categories. A list of abbreviations is included for readers' convenience. It is important to mention that the report summarizes an in-house PIPS publication, the 'Annual Security and Conflict Report, which contains complete citations.

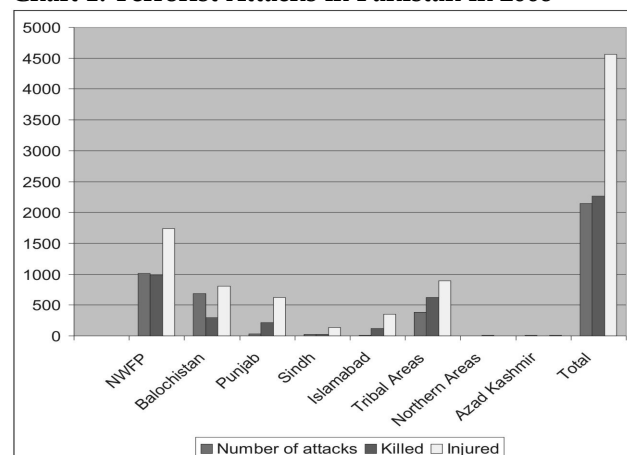
Credit is due to Mr Mujtaba Rathoor and his team for their excellent monitoring of security developments in the country throughout the year.

Muhammad Amir Rana

2. Overview

In 2008, a total of 2,148 terrorist, insurgent and sectarian attacks were reported across the country. These attacks killed 2,267 people and injured 4,558. The highest number of attacks was reported from NWFP (1,009), followed by Balochistan (682) and the Tribal Areas (385). Of these, 35 attacks took place in Punjab, 25 in Sindh, 7 in Islamabad, 4 in Azad Kashmir and one in the Northern Areas. (see Chart 1)

Chart 1: Terrorist Attacks in Pakistan in 2008



If casualties in clashes between security forces and terrorists, sectarian clashes between tribes, border clashes and incidents of operational and political violence are counted collectively, the overall number of casualties reaches 7,997 killed and 9,670 injured (see Table 2), which is a higher number than the casualty figures for the last three years combined (see Table 3).

Table 2: Nature of attacks

| No. | Attacks/clashes | Number of incidents | Killed | Injured |
|-----|---|---------------------|--------|---------|
| 1 | Terrorist attacks | 2,148 | 2,267 | 4,558 |
| 2 | Operational attacks | - | 3,182 | 2,267 |
| 3 | Clashes between security forces and militants | 95 | 655 | 557 |
| 4 | Political violence | 88 | 162 | 419 |
| 5 | Inter-tribe sectarian clashes | 191 | 1336 | 1,662 |
| 6 | Border clashes | 55 | 395 | 207 |
| 7 | Total | | 7,997 | 9,670 |

The data also shows that terrorist attacks are on the rise in Pakistan. As indicated in Table 3, the number of terrorist attacks in the country since 2005 had increased by an astronomical 746%.

Many media reports presume suicide attacks as the main factor responsible for the recent increase in casualties produced by acts of terrorism in Pakistan. Although the number of suicide attacks in the country has risen in 2008 (see Chart 4) -- 63 suicide attacks were reported during 2008, killing 967 people -- these are only one of several factors behind the increasing lethality of terrorism in Pakistan. Data shows that terrorists have also enhanced their capabilities in other forms of attacks (see Table 5), including the use of landmines and improvised explosive devices, rocket attacks and brutal primitive tactics such as beheadings.

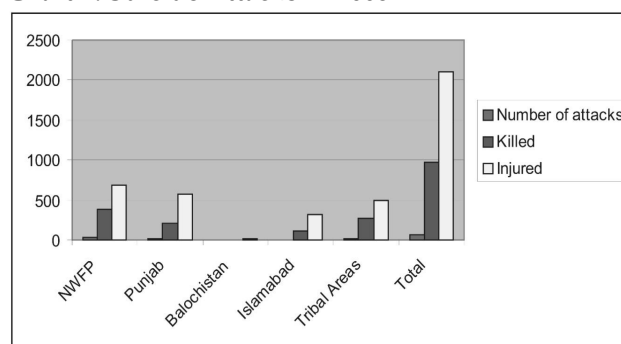
Another clear trend in 2008 was the high toll reported in the security forces' operations against terrorists (see Table 2) - including 3,182 people killed - which was total higher than the casualties caused by terrorist attacks. Such attacks also caused injuries to 2,267 people. Massive displacement in the Tribal Areas bordering Afghanistan as a result of the operations against terrorists also caused enormous damage that needs to be quantified.

Table 3: Comparison with Last Three Years' Figures

| Year | Total attacks | Annual increase(in %) | Killed | Injured |
|------|---------------|-----------------------|--------|---------|
| 2005 | 254 | | 216 | 571 |
| 2006 | 675 | 159% | 907 | 1,543 |
| 2007 | 1,503 | 129% | 3,448 | 5,353 |
| 2008 | 2,577 | 43% | 7,997 | 9,670 |

The government apparently achieved some success on the security front as the arrest of 4,113 suspected terrorists was reported during 2008. These included 30 Al Qaeda suspects, 3,759 terrorists affiliated with the Taliban and *jihadi* groups and 354 Baloch insurgents. But at the same time, it is important to recognize that many of these arrestees were later swapped for government officials and security personals abducted by terrorists.¹

Chart 4: Suicide Attacks in 2008



In Balochistan, the government succeeded to some extent in minimizing the tension through political measures including the initiation of a reconciliation process with Baloch nationalist and insurgent leaders.

Table 5: Attack Tactics

| Tactic | Number of Incidents |
|--|---------------------|
| Suicide attacks | 63 |
| Rocket attacks | 381 |
| Beheadings | 46 |
| Remote-controlled bombs | 112 |
| Landmines | 110 |
| Firing | 451 |
| Sabotage, Burn, Fire | 116 |
| Improvised explosive devices | 373 |
| Target killings | 26 |
| Manually developed low intensity devices | 298 |
| Hand grenades | 82 |

3. Security Landscape During 2008

During the last year, the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) remained the focus of attention of the media and policymakers. An expanding Taliban network, military operations in Bajaur and Swat, drone attacks in the Tribal Areas and suspension of NATO supplies through Pakistan many times during 2008 drew the world attention towards the region.

Suicide attacks in Islamabad and Lahore, particularly targeting security apparatus and a major hotel, rising political violence in Pakistan's financial capital Karachi and a slight decline in the intensity of the insurgency in Balochistan were the other important security highlights during the year. The following developments shaped the security landscape of the country in 2008.

3.1. NWFP and FATA

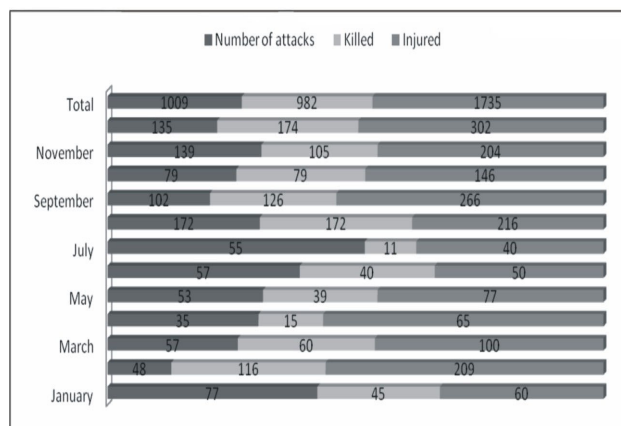
Pakistan continued to reel under violence perpetrated by the local Taliban and Al Qaeda-linked elements. Violence by Taliban, which was confined to South and North Waziristan and Bajaur agencies in 2006, gradually spread to all seven tribal agencies of FATA and into NWFP's settled districts of Bannu,

Kohat, Karak, Dera Ismail Khan, Dir, Lakki Marwat, Swat and Tank. As the year drew to a close, frequent Taliban attacks had spread to NWFP's capital Peshawar as well as to Charsadda, Shabqadar and Mardan.

The formation of the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) by Baitullah Mehsud in December 2007 was aimed at bringing all Taliban groups under one command and coordinating their activities in FATA and the NWFP. The TTP is an amalgam of 40 groups. One of its aims is that if security forces attack one group of Taliban then all TTP components would open new fronts for the forces in their respective areas to ease pressure on their attacked comrades. Another aim is to engage the military on many fronts in the NWFP and FATA.

The militants carried out 1,009 terrorist attacks in the NWFP in 2008, including 32 suicide attacks. Twenty-eight soldiers of the Pakistan Army were killed and 121 were injured in these attacks. (see Chart 6) The figures showed a sharp increase in terrorist activities over 2007, when the militants had carried out 460 terrorist attacks in the NWFP in which 1,096 people had died and 1,593 had been injured.

Chart 6: Terrorist Attacks in NWFP in 2008



Militants carried out 385 terrorist attacks against security forces and government installations in FATA, in which 619 people were killed and 892 injured. (see Table 7) The figure included 497 civilians killed and 694 injured; 25 soldiers of the Pakistan Army killed and 48 injured; 57 personnel of the Frontier Constabulary killed and 108 injured; 12 Levies security personnel killed and 16 injured; and

28 other paramilitaries killed and 16 injured in the tribal region in 2008. Militants also carried out 16 suicide attacks against security forces and tribal *jirgas* (local council) in FATA.

Table 7: Terror Attacks in Tribal Areas in 2008

| Tribal Agency | Attacks | Killed | Injured |
|------------------|---------|--------|---------|
| Bajaur | 84 | 134 | 157 |
| Khyber | 78 | 45 | 158 |
| Mohmand | 60 | 19 | 15 |
| South Waziristan | 57 | 105 | 93 |
| North Waziristan | 53 | 78 | 83 |
| Kurram | 27 | 105 | 140 |
| Orakzai | 26 | 133 | 246 |
| Total | 385 | 619 | 892 |

Among NWFP's settled areas, Taliban retained their stranglehold on Swat and adjoining areas despite a prolonged military operation as most of the beheadings, target killing of political leaders and attacks on girls' schools were reported from these areas.

a) Ban on girls' education: Incidents of Taliban militants torching girls' schools grew as the Taliban banned girls' education altogether. Initially, the militants asked parents not to send their daughters to "un-Islamic" schools for western education and later started attacking girls' schools, especially in Swat, while in FATA most of the schools have been occupied by the security forces and are being used as camps in the operation against militants.² In the five years preceding 2008, Taliban destroyed around 100 girls' schools in the NWFP and FATA. The year 2008 witnessed heightened attacks on schools as Taliban targeted 119 educational institutions, out of which 111 were girls' schools, mainly located in Swat. (see Table 7). In the Tribal Areas, eight attacks on schools were reported in 2008 – three each in Mohmand and Bajaur agencies and one each in Orakzai and Khyber agencies. (see Table 8)

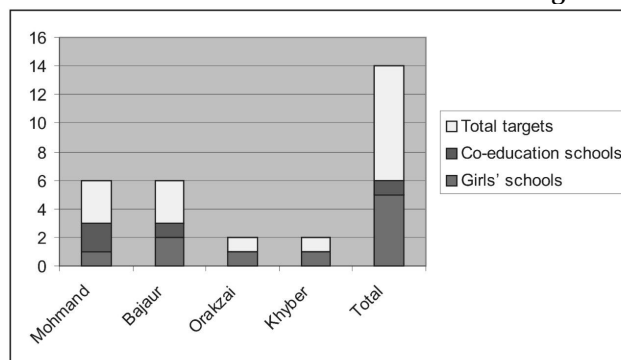
No loss of life was reported in the attacks on schools, mainly because most of them had already closed due to security threats and the ongoing military operations and many were serving as security forces' camps during the operation.

The Taliban also targeted a large number of video centers, CD shops, cellular phone towers and barbershops in 2008.

Table 8: Attacks on Schools in NWFP During 2008

| Places | Girls' schools/ colleges | Boys | Co-education schools | Total targets |
|-----------|--------------------------|------|----------------------|---------------|
| Swat | 88 | 1 | 1 | 90 |
| Kohat | 8 | | 3 | 11 |
| Peshawar | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Dir | 5 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Buner | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Malakand | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Mardan | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Bannu | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Charsadda | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 111 | 2 | 6 | 119 |

Chart 9: Attacks on Schools in Tribal Areas During 2008



Throughout the year, they also distributed pamphlets in parts of the NWFP and FATA asking the local people to shun un-Islamic practices. Taliban also destroyed a large number of barbershops in the Tribal Areas and NWFP after issuing them written warnings against shaving.

In the NWFP, the Taliban were reported to have attacked 95 shops in 2008, targeting 65 CD shops, 16 barbershops, six mobile phone shops, two drugs stores and seven garments and cosmetics shops. (see Table 10) Most of the attacks were reported in Swat. FATA witnessed 10 incidents of shops being attacked during the year. Five CD shops, three barbershops, a drug store and a grocery shop were targeted. In these attacks, 61 shops were completely destroyed, including 44 CD shops and music centers.

Table 10: Casualties and Attacks on Shops in NWFP and Tribal Areas in 2008

| Place | NWFP | FATA | Total |
|---------------------------------|------|------|-------|
| Shops targeted | 95 | 10 | 105 |
| Barbershops | 16 | 3 | 19 |
| Video/CD shops/ music center | 64 | 5 | 69 |
| Mobile phone shops | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Drugs stores | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Others | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| Killed | 9 | 0 | 9 |
| Injured | 31 | 2 | 33 |

b) Attacks on Political Leaders: Militants targeted political leaders in the NWFP and FATA in 2008, with leaders of the Awami National Party (ANP) – which won the most assembly seats in the troubled region and leads the coalition government in the NWFP – most frequently targeted. The party’s moderate stance was considered the main reason for the attacks, however, soon after the February 2008 election the ANP provincial government made a peace deal with the militants, which the Taliban later accused the government of disregarding. As many as 31 ANP activists were killed in a suicide attack in Shabqadar area of Charsadda district on February 9, 2008 -- the first time the militants directly targeted the ANP, a Pashtun nationalist party. Ten activists of the party were killed in North Waziristan Agency on 11 February 2008.³

c) Attacks on NATO Supplies: Repeated attacks on parking terminals of companies transporting supplies to NATO forces in Afghanistan in the militancy-plagued suburbs of Peshawar, the provincial capital, and in the adjacent tribal belt in 2008 hinted at a change of tactics by the militants.

Sporadic attacks on trucks and trailers supplying coalition forces in Afghanistan via the historic Khyber Pass in Khyber Agency had been occurring for many years, but the first two weeks of December witnessed organized attacks on the parking terminals in Peshawar in which scores of trailers, other vehicles and supplies were torched.

Mansoor Khan Mehsud, a PIPS researcher, observes: “In the last three or four months of 2008, the TTP militants established their base near Jamrud and after an armed clash with the Amr Bil Maroof militants group ended the latter’s practice of extorting money in exchange for protection from the contractor of the

supplies. The TTP militants are stated to be behind most of the attacks targeting NATO supplies now.”

d) Kidnapping for Ransom: Kidnappings, mostly for ransom, remained one of the top law and order concerns in the NWFP and the adjacent militancy-hit tribal region, with official estimate suggesting a spectacular 90 percent increase in such incidents during 2008.

The statistics made available by the local police disclose that 79 people were kidnapped for ransom in 66 incidents in Peshawar district during 2008, compared to 34 cases in 2007. In another 50 cases, a proper first information report (FIR) was not registered with the police, but a simple complaint lodged– a step prior to the registration of an FIR -- with the concerned police station. The combined number of kidnappings for ransom reported to police in Peshawar in the past year stood at 116.

Local residents said many cases were not reported to police or the media because victims’ families wanted to avoid harm to their relatives.

Prominent cases of kidnapping in 2008 included that of Pakistan’s Ambassador to Afghanistan Tariq Azizuddin, who was taken away from Jamrud tehsil of Khyber Agency in February 2008, while on his way to Kabul. He was, however, freed several months later in exchange for a huge sum of money and the release of an undisclosed number of senior militant commanders. Tariq was believed to have been kidnapped by the Taliban and kept in the remote Tirah valley of Khyber Agency.

Shakir Ishaq, a Peshawar-based industrialist, who was kidnapped from the posh Peshawar locality of University Town on April 18, is still missing. Many demonstrations arranged by his family and political and trade organizations to press the government to act for his recovery have not yielded any result.

Two Chinese nationals Zhang Guo and Long Xiao Wei, along with their security guard Imranullah and driver Khalil, were abducted by the Taliban from Khall town of the northwestern Dir Lower district on August 29. The two Chinese were telecommunications engineers stationed in the district. Mullah Fazlullah-led militants operating in the scenic Swat valley of the NWFP -- who operate under the banner of the banned TTP -- not only claimed responsibility for the abduction, but also paraded their Chinese captives before the media. They demanded the release of 136 Taliban prisoners in exchange for the two foreigners’

release. The guard and driver were released unconditionally on September 15. One of the engineers, Zhang Guo, managed to escape and was airlifted by the army from Matta tehsil of the Swat valley. Xiao Wei was recaptured while trying to escape and remains in captivity.

Afghanistan's ambassador-designate to Pakistan Abdul Khaliq Farahi was abducted by militants from Peshawar's Hayatabad area on September 22 and his driver killed on offering resistance during a brazen ambush. Farahi's whereabouts remain unknown.

Javed Afridi, a reporter of English daily newspaper The News, was abducted on September 24. He escaped from captivity on October 18.

Liaqat Ali, father of Peshawar's Town-I Nazim Shaukat Ali was abducted from Dabgari on 26 September. He is still in captivity.

A professor of the Kabul-based Aryana University, Abdul Haq was also kidnapped while traveling to Peshawar from the Afghan capital in the last week of October.

Ziaul Haq, the younger brother of Afghan Finance Minister Anwarul Haq Ahadi went missing from Hayatabad area on October 31. Haq had been working with a non-governmental organisation in Pakistan.

On November 3, unidentified armed men abducted another Afghan official, Akhtar Kohistani -- as advisor to the Afghan Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development -- from the house of his in-laws in the remote Chitral district.

Besides such high-profile abductions, two American officials came under attack in Peshawar during the last five months of 2008. Unidentified attackers ambushed the bullet-proof vehicle of Lynn Tracy, the principal officer of the US Consulate in Peshawar, near her residence in University Town area on August 26. However, she escaped unhurt.

In the second incident, Stephen D Vance, chief of a USAID-funded livelihood project for the Tribal Areas was shot and killed along with his Pakistani driver Abdul Shakoore in the same area on November 12.

Canadian journalist Khadija Abdul Qahar was abducted from NWFP's Bannu district the same day along with her translator, Salman and personal assistant, Zurq Khan as they traveled to Miramshah via Janikhel Wazir.

The very next day, the commercial attaché of the Iranian Consulate in Peshawar, Heshmatollah Attarzadeh, was abducted after gunmen killed his bodyguard Syed Sajjad Hussain in Hayatabad area.

Japanese journalist Motoki Yotsukura and his Afghan colleague Sami Yousafzai escaped a kidnapping attempt in Hayatabad area. Both sustained bullet injuries along with their driver when their vehicle was fired on.

These are only the more high profile abduction cases in the NWFP, particularly Peshawar, during 2008. Many others did not get as much attention since the abducted persons were less well known. "We have roughly one person abducted by local criminals in every house," a senior police official told PIPS.

The Taliban were not behind all these abductions. Many were carried out by local criminals who capitalized on the opportunity to expand their activities as police and law enforcement agencies were weakened by militant attacks and suicide bombings or were preoccupied with anti-militant operations.

PIPS researcher Yusaf Ali, who monitors security issues in the NWFP and FATA, analyzed the situation thus: "An important aspect that contributed to the increase in kidnappings and other crimes was that criminal gangs had been operating throughout the NWFP and the adjacent Tribal Areas. With the rise of the Taliban and their activities against criminal elements, particularly in Khyber Agency and the semi-tribal region of Darra Adamkhel -- two of the most notorious places for kidnappings for ransom, car snatching and other crime, the gangsters lay low or joined the ranks of Taliban by pledging to leave their previous activities and vowing to work under the Taliban command in the future. But several incidents show that many criminals did not abandon their unlawful activities and continued them in the garb of Taliban and indeed with the additional protection afforded on account of being a Taliban."

e) Drone Attacks: During 2008, 32 drone attacks took place in FATA (see Chart 11) and one in the NWFP district of Bannu, reportedly killing 216 terrorists and 84 civilians. (see Table 12) The US strategy of conducting drone attacks inside Pakistani territory has been a bone of contention between Islamabad and Washington. The Pakistani government holds that the attacks are counterproductive -- causing civilian deaths, creating sentiments against the government in Pakistan, hatred against the US and sympathy for the Taliban. According to Sailab Mehsud, a journalist from South Waziristan Agency, the attacks are creating hatred against the American and NATO forces among the people in FATA and those who have lost their loved ones in such attacks join the Taliban because they want to take revenge against the Americans. In this manner, these attacks serve to increase support for the Taliban in the Tribal Areas.⁴

Chart 11: Drone Attacks in FATA

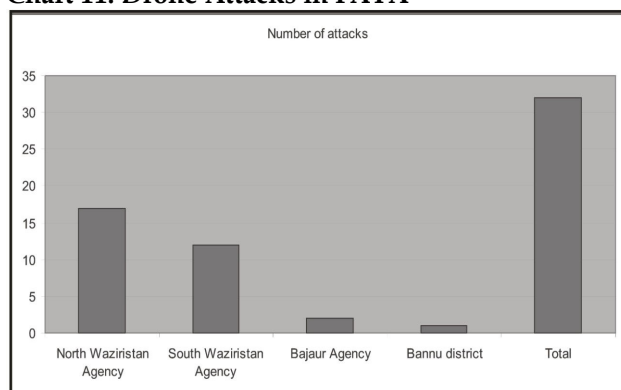


Table 12: Causalities in Drone Attacks in 2008

| Month | Militants killed | Civilians killed |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|
| January | 13 | 0 |
| February | 8 | 0 |
| March | 0 | 0 |
| April | 0 | 0 |
| May | 20 | 0 |
| June | 1 | 0 |
| July | 12 | 0 |
| August | 24 | 2 |
| September | 14 | 42 |
| October | 70 | 28 |
| November | 36 | 7 |
| December | 18 | 5 |
| Total | 216 | 84 |

3.2. Balochistan

In Balochistan, 296 people were killed and 807 injured in 692 attacks during 2008. (see Table 13) The intensity of attacks grew sharply in comparison with previous years. In 2006, 403 attacks claimed 277 lives and injured 676 people; whereas in 2007 in 536 attacks 224 people were killed and 564 injured. A deadly suicide attack in Quetta hit a military check-post on September 24, killing two persons and injuring 22 others. Two sectarian attacks were also reported in Quetta.

August was the deadliest month in the province in 2008 with 94 attacks killing 46 people. (see Table 13) In the same month, Provincial Governor Nawab Zulfiqar Magsi announced on Independence Day that he was not satisfied with law and order in the province and was contemplating resigning. He submitted his resignation to the president a week later but the resignation was not accepted.

Table 13: Terrorist attacks in Balochistan

| Month | Number of attacks | Killed | Injured |
|-----------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| January | 46 | 10 | 60 |
| February | 87 | 25 | 86 |
| March | 64 | 12 | 41 |
| April | 73 | 37 | 85 |
| May | 62 | 35 | 76 |
| June | 51 | 28 | 49 |
| July | 55 | 15 | 73 |
| August | 94 | 46 | 174 |
| September | 35 | 24 | 74 |
| October | 32 | 21 | 37 |
| November | 48 | 22 | 30 |
| December | 45 | 21 | 22 |
| Total | 692 | 296 | 807 |

Dera Bugti district of the province faced the worst deterioration in the security situation with 188 attacks – around 15 attacks a month. (see Table 14) Quetta faced the second highest number of terrorist attacks (145) while 78 attacks were recorded in Kohlu district.

Table 14: Terrorist Attacks in Balochistan's Districts in 2008

| District | Attacks | Killed | Injured |
|----------------|---------|--------|---------|
| Awaran | 8 | - | - |
| Barkhan | 7 | - | 4 |
| Bolan | 15 | 11 | 28 |
| Chaghi | 3 | - | 4 |
| Gwadar | 4 | - | 2 |
| Dera Bugti | 188 | 89 | 234 |
| Harnai | 2 | - | - |
| Jafarabad | 45 | 20 | 82 |
| Kech | 6 | 4 | 1 |
| Kharan | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Khuzdar | 43 | 12 | 31 |
| Kohlu | 78 | 10 | 30 |
| Lasbela | 26 | 21 | 51 |
| Loralai | 3 | - | 1 |
| Mustang | 23 | 2 | 19 |
| Naseerabad | 24 | 19 | 34 |
| Noshki | 14 | 5 | 11 |
| Panjgur | 7 | 1 | 1 |
| Qalat | 14 | 1 | 13 |
| Qilla Abdullah | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Quetta | 145 | 94 | 245 |
| Sibi | 17 | 5 | 14 |
| Zhob | 2 | - | - |
| Total | 682 | 296 | 807 |

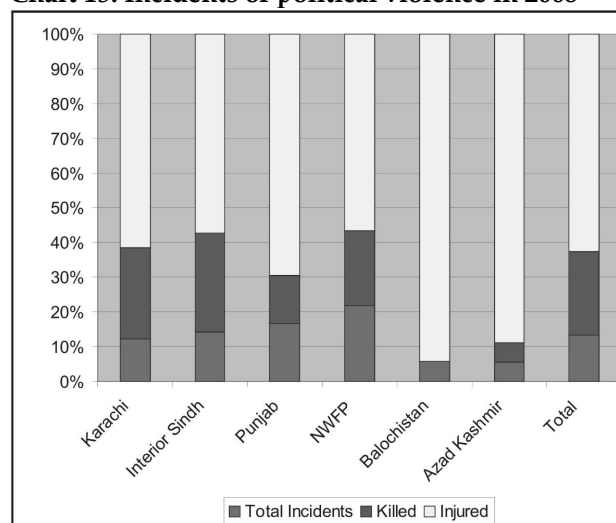
Malik Siraj Akber, a Quetta-based journalist and a PIPS contributor, analyzed the provincial security situation thus: "The situation in Balochistan could have been worse had three armed militant groups -- the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), Baloch Republican Army (BRA) and Baloch Liberation Front (BLF) -- not declared a unilateral ceasefire in September 2008. With the declaration of the ceasefire, the incidents of target killings and other attacks were to a great extent reduced."

3.3 Sindh

In four attacks in the interior parts of the Sindh province, three people were killed and 19 injured in 2008. The provincial capital Karachi witnessed 21 attacks.

One person was killed and 16 others were injured when a cosmetics shop was blown up in Tando Adam in Sanghar, where Taliban sympathizers had earlier distributed pamphlets warning owners of CD

and cosmetics shops to shut down their businesses. The other three attacks in Interior Sindh occurred in Kashmore, Jacobabad and Shikarpur districts. These areas are adjacent to Balochistan and Baloch insurgents are known to take refuge there after militant activities in Balochistan. In two attacks, gas pipelines were blown up and in the third the insurgents targeted a polling station during the February 18 election. In 2007, 10 terrorist attacks were reported in Interior Sindh.

Chart 15: Incidents of political violence in 2008

a) Political Violence in Karachi: Political violence continued to mar the security scenario of Karachi, the capital of Sindh province, throughout 2008. During the year, 66 incidents of political violence were reported from Karachi and four from Interior Sindh -- the highest figure for political violence among all the provinces. (see Chart 15) In the 66 ethno-religious and political incidents 143 persons were killed and 333 injured.

Most incidents of political clashes in Karachi were reported between the Sunni Tehreek (ST) and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), the Awami National Party (ANP) and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) were also dragged into such violence on ethnic or political basis. A number of criminal groups in the city also enjoy political backing from one party or the other and were involved in acts of violence.

There was a wave of political unrest ahead of the February 2008 elections following the assassination of

PPP chairperson Benazir Bhutto on December 27, 2007, and it was hoped that the turbulence would subside after the elections. Its intensity decreased after the PPP and the MQM agreed on a consensus provincial government in Sindh on April 3, 2008.

On December 3, the MQM and the ST agreed that both sides would try to avoid confrontation, which brought hope for peace in the city.

Violence erupted in Karachi many times during the year, but the most horrific scenes were witnessed during a six-day spell of ethnic violence in late November and early December. It paralyzed life in the port city and claimed 48 lives and injured 149 people.

Even though the violent spell has subsided for now, the ethno-political tension between the MQM and the Pashtoon nationalist ANP is on the rise, which can fuel further unrest in the city in 2009.

Organized crime syndicates and gangs have long exploited Karachi's position as a regional hub. Apart from the rise in incidents of crime, infighting within criminal gangs remains a major security threat. In 2008, 17 major gang wars were reported in Karachi, mainly between rival Liyari gangs of Rehman Dacoit and Pappu Group. The clashes claimed 30 lives and injured 55 people.

Karachi faced 19 terrorist attacks by local Al Qaeda-inspired and sponsored militant groups. The death toll in these attacks was 19 and 119 people were injured. The Talibanization of Karachi remained a hot topic and media reports indicated that emerging Taliban muscle could also pose a serious threat to the security and social fabric of Karachi. In July, Baitullah Mehsud, head of the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in the Tribal Areas, threatened that the Taliban would no longer confine their operation to FATA alone but launch attacks across Pakistan if a security operation was launched against them.

In the same month, MQM chief Altaf Hussain claimed that militants from the NWFP and FATA were being brought to Karachi in large numbers, and that the MQM would not allow the city's Talibanization. However, the government denied that there was any sign of Talibanization in the city.

The ANP considered the MQM claim mere propaganda against the Pashtoon population in Karachi. The need to develop consensus among all political and religious stakeholders on the issue

remains in order to ensure better strategies if a Talibanization threat actually exists in the city.

The sectarian divide and sectarian groups' involvement in violence and crimes in Karachi has its roots in the Shia-Sunni friction in the country. The Sipah-e-Sahaba was strengthened in Karachi, especially when Maulana Azam Tariq was its chief, to counter the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Ja'afria. Later, the Sunni Tehreek was formed in 1990 to counter the growing influence of Ahl-e-Hadith and Deobandi organizations. During 2008, two violent sectarian incidents took two lives in Karachi.

3.4. Punjab

Punjab suffered many terrorist attacks in 2008. At least 219 people were killed and 621 injured in 35 attacks. (see Table 16) In 10 suicide attacks in the province during the year, 201 people were killed and 580 injured. Terrorists, for the first time, used explosives-laden vehicles to hit highly protected buildings in Punjab. Army and security forces personnel were the targets of militants. A twin suicide bombing targeting the Pakistan Ordnance Factory (POF) in Wah was the deadliest attack during the year, killing 85 employees of the weapon-making facility.

When Punjabi Taliban -- who have emerged as a renowned group in FATA -- visit their native areas they motivate the local people to take action against what they call anti-Islamic activities of barber, cosmetics and CDs shops.

Punjab's Rajanpur district, on the border with the insurgency-hit Balochistan province, also felt the intensity of militant activities.

Table 16: Terrorist attacks in Punjab in 2008

| Month | Number of attacks | Killed | Injured |
|-----------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| January | 5 | 27 | 72 |
| February | 2 | 18 | 56 |
| March | 4 | 36 | 239 |
| April | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| May | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| June | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| July | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| August | 5 | 98 | 160 |
| September | 3 | 9 | 11 |
| October | 5 | 28 | 68 |
| November | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| December | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| Total | 35 | 219 | 621 |

3.5. Azad Kashmir

The security situation in Azad Kashmir was similar to the previous year. In four attacks during 2008, three people were killed and 10 injured. (see Table 17) Two people were killed and five injured in an attack outside the shrine of Mian Muhammad Bukhsh in Mirpur in August during the annual congregation there. The involvement of sectarian outfits was suspected.

Table 17: Terrorist Attacks in Azad Kashmir

| Month | Number of attacks | Killed | Injured |
|---------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| May | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| June | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| August | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| October | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 4 | 3 | 10 |

3.6. Northern Areas

Barring a few small-scale clashes among different communities, no ethnic and terrorist activities were reported from the Northern Areas.

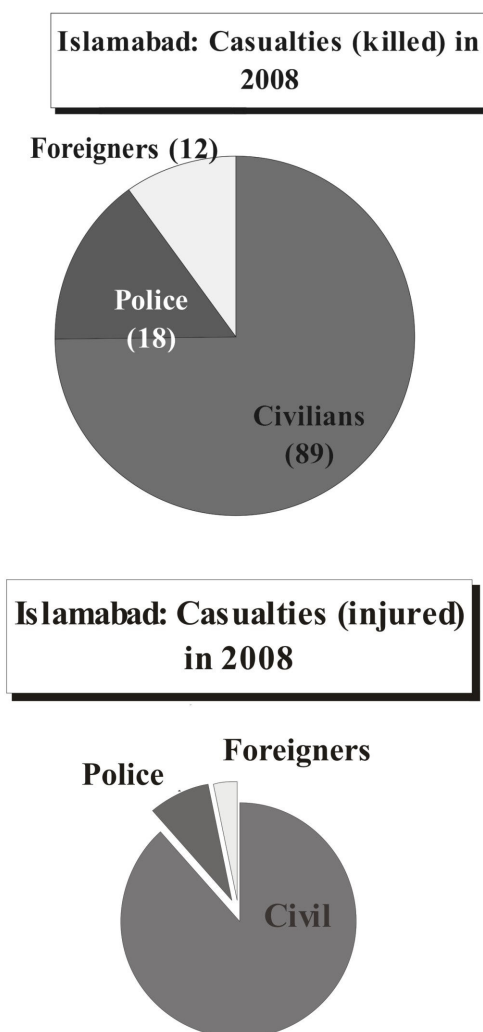
In one sectarian clash in Gilgat five people were killed and one injured, all of them civilians. The violence was sectarian in nature and the victims were Agriculture Department's officials.

3.7. Islamabad

Islamabad faced nine terrorist attacks including six suicide bombings in 2008, (see Chart 18) the latest being the deadly suicide attack on Marriott hotel on September 20 and a suicide attack on the Police Lines on October 9.

Between July 2007 and December 2008, terrorists targeted Rawalpindi with eight suicide attacks. They hit the twin cities twice in February 2008, while a suicide attack on police at Islamabad's Melody Market, suicide blasts outside the Pakistan Ordnance Factories in Wah Cantonment – some 30 kilometers from Islamabad, and the attack on Marriott hotel were the major suicide attacks in 2008.

Chart 18: Casualties in Islamabad During 2008



According to defense analyst Ikram Sehgal, "It was our utmost responsibility to control the ongoing suicide attacks but we could not do so. In fact, it is the failure of intelligence agencies. It is imperative to overhaul our intelligence infrastructure. Secondly, our judicial system has collapsed. Culprits are not punished despite being arrested by law enforcement agencies. In this scenario, I can say that the future of our security is not bright".

The bombings suggest that either the intelligence agencies are unable to unearth terrorists' plans or security agencies are incapable of stopping them from striking their targets. It also shows that terrorists have a strong network. "Foolproof security of Islamabad is out of the question as there are at

least 72 major entry/exit points in the city whereas the Capital Police have only 10,000 personnel, who are mainly deployed to protect diplomats and VIPs. Moreover, Islamabad police are not equipped with gadgets like metal detectors,” commented Munawwar Azeem on security lapses in Islamabad during 2008.

3.8. Border Tensions

a) Pak-Afghan border: There were 47 clashes and cross-border attacks from Afghanistan along the Pak-Afghan border during 2008, killing 388 people and injuring 207. These included 10 clashes between Pakistani troops and Afghan-NATO forces and 37 attempted border violations to pursue militants, which took the lives of 120 civilians, 254 militants and 14 FC personnel. (see Table 19)

Table 19: Border clashes at Pak-Afghan border in 2008

| Month | Number of incidents | Killed | Injured |
|-----------|---------------------|--------|---------|
| January | 2 | 13 | 0 |
| February | 2 | 8 | 8 |
| March | 4 | 26 | 8 |
| April | 3 | 2 | 8 |
| May | 4 | 20 | 5 |
| June | 4 | 24 | 15 |
| July | 6 | 19 | 18 |
| August | 6 | 36 | 20 |
| September | 7 | 76 | 57 |
| October | 8 | 98 | 37 |
| November | 6 | 43 | 25 |
| December | 5 | 23 | 6 |
| Total | 47 | 388 | 207 |

In June, tensions increased between Pakistan and US-led forces in Afghanistan, when the latter attacked Pakistani forces check posts in South Waziristan Agency prompting serious protest by Islamabad. South and North Waziristan agencies remained flashpoint. Tensions along the border in 2008 were a continuation of the situation in 2007, when 22 incidents were reported in which 76 people were killed and 91 injured. In 2008, September, October and November were the deadliest months with 76, 98 and 43 killings reported respectively.

b) Pak-India border/LoC: The November 26 Mumbai terrorist attacks renewed tensions along the Pak-

India border. India moved its troops close to the border while Pakistan also put its forces on high alert.

India threatened “surgical strikes” on alleged terrorist training camps inside Pakistan. Pakistan Air Force was put on high alert after Indian aircraft violated Pakistani airspace twice on December 13.

Table 20: Line of Control/Pak-India border 2008

| Month | Number of incidents | Killed | Injured |
|-----------|---------------------|--------|---------|
| June | 1 | 4 | - |
| July | 1 | - | - |
| September | 2 | 1 | - |
| December | 3 | 2 | - |
| Total | 7 | 7 | - |

Apart from these developments late in 2008, Pakistan’s borders with India and the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir remained peaceful, barring a few incidents. On June 19, four Pakistani soldiers were killed in a clash with unidentified miscreants in Hajira Sector at LoC.⁵ On July 28, India accused Pakistani troops of killing an Indian soldier after crossing the border but Pakistan denied the claim.⁶ Violations of the LoC and border by Indian troops were reported in September and December in which three civilians were killed.

c) Pak-Iran Border: The situation along the Pak-Iran border remained tense in May and June 2008 mainly because of the activities of Jandullah, a separatist militant group active on both sides of the border. A wall Iran built along its border in 2007 to stop infiltration by Jandullah terrorists largely failed to achieve its goal.

In June, Jandullah abducted 28 Iranian soldiers from the Iranian border province of Sistan-Baluchestan. After the incident Pakistan’s border security forces were put on high alert.⁷ They launched a crackdown on Jandullah and arrested their activists. Four of them including a brother of a militant group’s leader, Abdul Malik Ragi were handed over to the Iranian authorities.⁸ This helped ease tensions and no major incident was subsequently reported in 2008 except operations against smugglers, human traffickers and illegal immigrants by Iranian and

Pakistani forces on the border, which is considered a key point for illegal crossings.

3.9. Suicide Attacks

Although suicide attacks are a relatively recent phenomenon in Pakistan, they have emerged as a major security challenge after a rapid increase in the number and ferocity of such attacks.

In 2008, 63 suicide attacks were reported from across Pakistan, claiming 967 lives, including 195 security personnel. Of the 2,130 people injured in these attacks, 401 were again security personnel. During the year, 32 suicide attacks were reported in NWFP, 10 in Punjab, four in Islamabad, one in Balochistan and 16 in the Tribal Areas, where military operations against the Taliban and Al Qaeda-linked elements continued. (see Table 22)

Changes were noted in the tactics and targets of these bombings during 2008 as suicide bombers targeted foreign nationals and envoys, security forces, political leaders and sensitive organizations more specifically than ever before. The steep rise in the number of suicide attacks in Pakistan began in 2006 and 2007, mainly after the operation against Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) in Islamabad, but the security threat they pose assumed an even more dangerous dimension in 2008 when suicide attacks became a regular feature in an asymmetric warfare between the security forces and militants.

Chart 21: Suicide attacks and casualties

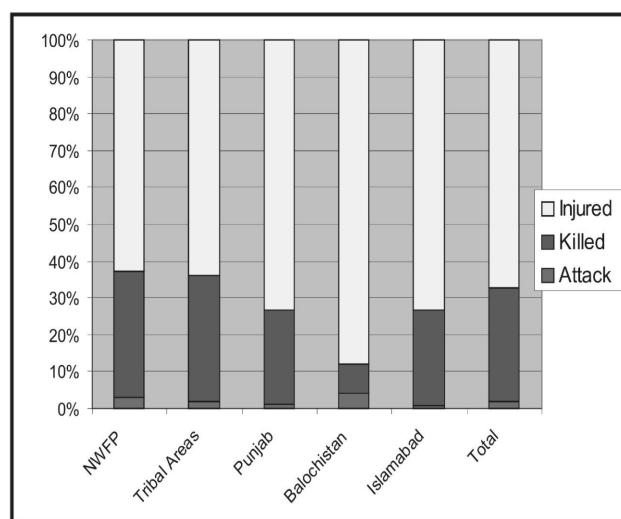


Table 22: Suicide Attacks per Month

| Month | Number of attacks | Killed | Injured |
|-----------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| January | 5 | 40 | 109 |
| February | 8 | 169 | 328 |
| March | 7 | 97 | 336 |
| April | -- | -- | -- |
| May | 4 | 21 | 58 |
| June | 1 | 8 | 26 |
| July | 2 | 24 | 58 |
| August | 6 | 148 | 229 |
| September | 6 | 150 | 367 |
| October | 9 | 166 | 369 |
| November | 9 | 76 | 128 |
| December | 6 | 68 | 129 |
| Total | 63 | 967 | 2,130 |

In 2008, suicide bombers increasingly targeted the state's security apparatus, despite strict security measures in place there, as well as symbols of economic activity in the country. The attacks on Pakistan Ordnance Factory in Wah, the Federal Investigation Agency headquarters and Navy War College in Lahore, and the Marriott hotel in Islamabad are clear examples. The bombers' tactics pointed to a strong network, operational capability and an enhanced presence in Islamabad and other major urban centers and proximity to potential targets.

Saba Noor, a PIPS researcher who traced trends in suicide attacks, concluded that "in most suicide attacks the attackers used explosives-laden vehicles with a very large quantity of explosives. However, in NWFP a donkey cart was also used for a suicide bombing, indicating that the attackers' objective was mass and random killing rather than selective targeting".

3.10. Sectarian Attacks and Clashes

Hangu, Dera Ismail Khan and Peshawar districts in the NWFP, and Kurram and Khyber agencies in the Tribal Areas remained sectarian flashpoints during 2008. Dera Ismail Khan was the worst-hit area where 16 major sectarian attacks were reported in which 63 people were killed. During the year, banned sectarian groups Sipah-e-Sahaba and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi grew in strength in the city, which was deemed a crucial

factor in increasing sectarian clashes there. The Sipah-e-Sahaba managed to win a provincial assembly seat in the February 2008 election in Dera Ismail Khan, which further strengthened its hold. It also won the support of a Taliban commander, Qari Hussain from South Waziristan Agency, who not only provided logistics and militant training to sectarian Sunni groups but also launched suicide attacks against Shia population in Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and the nearby Punjab city of Bhakkar.

Sectarian violence fell in 2008 in comparison with 2007. As many as 80 incidents of sectarian violence had killed 521 people and injured another 757 during 2007. But even with the decline in violence the situation could hardly be called satisfactory.

Table 23: Sectarian Clashes 2008

| Month | Number of incidents | Killed | Injured |
|-----------|---------------------|--------|---------|
| January | 6 | 26 | 75 |
| February | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| March | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| April | 7 | 32 | 72 |
| May | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| June | 9 | 78 | 107 |
| July | 8 | 61 | 83 |
| August | 27 | 507 | 78 |
| September | 20 | 131 | 236 |
| October | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| November | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| December | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Total | 79 | 842 | 654 |

Apart from sectarian attacks, sectarian-related tribal clashes also erupted in Kurram and Khyber agencies and affected the adjoining tribal and settled areas, Orakzai and South Waziristan agencies, Hangu, Kohat and Bannu. Except Khyber Agency, all of these clashes were between Shia and Sunni groups. Mohmand Agency witnessed clashes between Salafi and Deobandi Taliban groups, which made the tense sectarianism situation in the Tribal Areas more complex.

In 79 inter-tribal sectarian clashes in Kurram agency, Hangu, DI Khan and Kohat 842 persons lost their lives and 654 were injured. As many as 552 people lost their lives only in Kurram Agency in 37 clashes between the Toori and Bangash tribes. (see table 23)

In Khyber Agency, clashes between pro-Deobandi Lashkar-e-Islam group and Ansarul Islam group resulted in 108 people dying in 14 clashes.

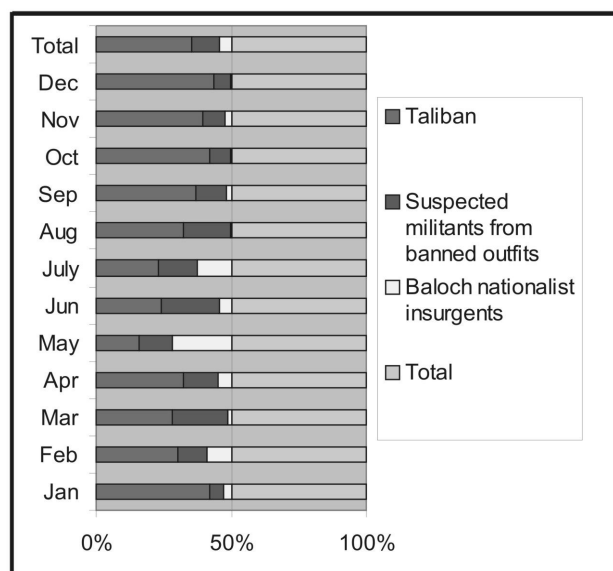
4. State Response

The government responded to the security challenges in a number of ways. In Balochistan, it seemed to adopt a reconciliatory approach towards the leadership of nationalist and insurgent groups. In FATA and Swat, it applied a multi-dimensional approach that included peace agreements with the local tribes and militants, formation of *Lashkars* (private tribal militias) to counter Taliban at the local level, and military operations. Simultaneously, the government tried to enhance the capabilities of its security forces at the federal and provincial level to effectively counter terrorist threats.

The extent of impact government efforts had, construed on the basis of data gathered by PIPS, is discussed below.

During 2008, a total of 4,113 militants were arrested, of whom 2,890 were suspected Taliban apprehended in the NWFP and FATA; (see Chart 24) 869 were activists of banned terrorists organizations, including 77 alleged militants of the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) and 13 activists of the Sipah-e-Sahaba. Besides this, 84 suspected terrorists -- including 25 from Jaish-e-Muhammad, eight from Jandullah, seven from Lashkar-e-Ababeel (Mansehra), six from Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami (HUJI) two from Jihad-e-Islami (Balochistan) and one each from Harkatul Mujahideen Al-Almi and Al-Badar Mujahideen. Security forces also held 354 nationalist insurgents during operations in Balochistan.

Chart 24: Terrorists arrested



The security forces and law enforcement agencies also claimed the arrest of 30 suspected Al Qaeda terrorists. Security departments also claimed unearthing terrorist cells and tracing those allegedly involved in terrorist attacks in Islamabad, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Karachi, including the perpetrators of the Marriott hotel suicide bombing, an attack on the Danish embassy in Islamabad and a suicide attack targeting the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) building in Lahore.

The security forces also launched five major operations during 2008 – in South and North Waziristan, Bajaur and Mohmand agencies and in Swat. In January 2008, the government launched a military operation in North Waziristan Agency, which lasted for a month and ended with a ceasefire following a peace agreement between militants and government forces. In February 2008, the security forces initiated another operation, this time in South Waziristan Agency, which also ended with a peace agreement with militants.

Operations in Bajaur and Mohmand agencies and Swat are still going on. The military has claimed success in the operations in these areas, especially in Bajaur, and this has also been endorsed by NATO troops in Afghanistan. The government claimed making gains in the operations on the basis of surrender of 587 Taliban activists in Bajaur, Mohmand and Swat.

Tribal Lashkars: The increasing number of anti-Taliban Lashkars of volunteers in the Tribal Areas and settled districts of the NWFP was a response the government tried to encourage with the help of local residents in the troubled areas. But attacks on anti-Taliban jirgas, and kidnapping and murder of influential tribal elders who were instrumental in forming these Lashkars hindered their effectiveness. According to Peshawar-based journalist Javed Afridi, the government has not been able to fully support anti-Taliban Lashkars despite claims of tactfully dealing with the militancy by facilitating the tribal militias. There have been no arrangements for proper training of the volunteers to enable them to effectively take on the well-trained militants.

The trend of organizing anti-Taliban Lashkars began in Buner district of the NWFP in September last year, when a group of local residents chased and killed six militants who had attacked a police station in the district's Kingargali area and killed eight policemen.

Following that incident, the people of Buner raised a formal Lashkar of volunteers to contain the activities of militants in the area.

The residents of Maidan area in Dir Lower district – where the militants from Bajaur Agency had shifted in large numbers to seek shelter -- followed suit. The Maidan residents set up checkpoints on the main road, carried out talks with the militants and managed to flush them out of the area. Similar action was taken in Mardan, Swabi, Hangu, Lakki Marwat and several other areas in the NWFP.

In the Tribal Areas, the first anti-Taliban Lashkar was formed in Salarzai tehsil of Bajaur Agency. According to media reports, the Lashkar was formed when the Taliban ambushed and killed tribal elders Malik Bakhtawar Khan, Malik Shah Zarin and religious scholar Maulvi Sher Wali who were on their way home after a meeting with government officials in Khar where they had pledged to raise a Lashkar and sought government support for the purpose. The local tribesmen held the Taliban responsible for the killings and formed a Lashkar led by Fazal Kareem Baro. However, the Lashkar kept away from flushing out militants from their strongholds in Mula Said Banda and Darra areas of Salarzai tehsil. In Mamond tehsil of Bajaur Agency, Malik Rahmatullah Khan and Malik Shahpar Khan formed a Lashkar. In Charmang tehsil of Bajaur Agency Malik Sherdad and Malik Tari Gul set up a Lashkar to contain the local Taliban.

Mansoor Khan Mehsud, a PIPS researcher, views the formation of Lashkars as a big threat to the Taliban. According to him, "The raising of tribal Lashkars has invited the wrath of militants, who seem confused amid the prolonged military operation in Swat, Bajaur Agency, the semi-tribal region of Darra Adamkhel and other parts of the Tribal Areas, as well as some settled districts of the NWFP. The militants, who have been on the run constantly amid relentless bombardment by jet aircraft and helicopter gunships, are hitting back at the pro-government tribal elders and peace jirgas."

5. Challenges and Responses

The following trends could be gauged by analyzing Pakistan's security landscape during 2008.

1. Terrorist attacks are increasing – a comparison of the security situation in 2008 with 2005 indicates a 746% increase in terrorist attacks.

2. The number and intensity of suicide attacks - 63 reported in 2008 -- has increased.
3. The number of people killed in security forces' operations in FATA and Swat in 2008 was higher than the death toll in terrorist attacks during the year. As many as 3,182 killings were reported in operational attacks by security forces and as opposed to 2,267 people who died in terrorist attacks.
4. As security forces' counterterrorism strategies evolve, terrorists are also changing their targets and tactics. It was noted that terrorist groups affiliated with Al Qaeda and Taliban are using sophisticated techniques employed by insurgents in Iraq. Such a progression could be traced in three major terrorist attacks in Pakistan in 2008: the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) building attack in Lahore and attacks on the Danish embassy and Marriott hotel in Islamabad. In the FIA attack, terrorists used a pick-up truck loaded with over 50 kilograms of C4 plastic explosives, and a tactic that was strikingly similar to the April 2005 botched attack on Iraq's notorious Abu Gharib prison by Al Qaeda, aimed to free detainees and target US forces with a series of car bombs. The method adopted in the Marriott suicide bombing shows not only the growing nexus between Al Qaeda and local terrorist groups but also their enhanced capabilities.
5. Terrorists' expanded capabilities in using heavy weapons and explosive devices were also noted. In Balochistan, terrorists kept targeting government installations including gas pipelines, power pylons, railway tracks and government offices. Beheadings of opponents and alleged spies increased in 2008 in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Taliban-dominated settled areas of the NWFP. Taliban and Al Qaeda terrorists have used rocket launchers as an effective weapon in the past few years and their dependence on rocket attacks, especially against security forces, increased in 2008. Besides the use of rocket launchers in combat operation against security forces, Taliban and Baloch insurgents used them to target security check posts, convoys, opponents' houses and government properties and installations. In the past few years, extensive use of remote-controlled explosive devices was noticed in Balochistan, but in 2008 the Taliban in the NWFP and FATA also used these devices. They were used in 54 terrorist attacks in the NWFP and 19 attacks in FATA. Baloch insurgents are considered experts in the use of landmines and have used them against the security forces in the recent past, with 89 such incidents taking place in 2008. The use of landmines to target security forces also increased in FATA, where Taliban used them in 16 attacks.
6. FATA and the NWFP suffered a general deterioration of law and order during 2008 in addition to the growing reach of extremists and terrorists. Kidnappings for ransom, ban on girls' education and attacks on their schools, target killing of political leaders and workers, establishment of Taliban Shariah courts and attacks on supplies for foreign troops in Afghanistan through Pakistan stood out. Formation of anti-Taliban lashkars initially appeared to be a successful strategy but assaults on jirgas (local councils) and killing of tribal elders hampered their effectiveness. Drone attacks in FATA by US forces proved counterproductive in raising cadres for the Taliban, while military operations and agreements with the local tribes and Taliban failed to keep peace in the NWFP.
7. In Punjab, especially in Lahore, attacks on cultural festivals, theaters and cinemas indicated growing radicalization in the city and the presence of violent radical cells.
8. Terrorist activities decreased in Balochistan but the threat of terrorism remains.
9. Although fewer sectarian terrorist attacks were reported in 2008 as compared to 2007, sectarian clashes in FATA's Kurram Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Hangu and Kohat emerged as big challenges for the government.
10. Incidents of political violence in Karachi occurred in the city for most of the year and a rise in the ethno-religious and political tension was observed.

11. The focus on tensions along Pakistan's western border, with Afghanistan, shifted to the country's eastern borders with India in December 2008 after the Mumbai attacks, when New Delhi mounted pressure on Islamabad to act against Pakistan-based terrorist groups allegedly involved.

6. Recommendations

As the security situation in the country has worsened in 2008, the following aspects need immediate attention of the state, policymakers, political and religious leaders, civil society and the media:

1. There is a need to develop improved counterterrorism strategies not only at the level of security forces but simultaneously at the political, civil society and the media levels as well. These strategies can only be developed when all stakeholders realize the gravity of the threat. The government, civil society and the media have major responsibilities to develop consensus on the issue.
2. A rise in the number of acts of terrorism also reflects the need for effective, efficient and resourceful policing and law enforcement. The federal and provincial governments need to emphasize this aspect and provide better training, skills, equipment and experience-sharing with other countries' forces to deal with the threat in a professional manner.
3. The likely US deployment of an additional 30,000 troops on the Afghanistan side of the Pak-Afghan border can cause panic among Taliban groups, potentially triggering the intensification of their terrorist activities inside Pakistan. The intelligence agencies need to develop better surveillance capabilities to counter the threat.
4. With the Taliban expanding their network in settled areas of the NWFP, their next target could be the Punjab province. The Punjab government and police need to prepare to counter this threat at an early stage.
5. The government also needs to reduce its dependence on the use of military force to address internal security issues, and should enhance the capacity of paramilitary forces i.e. Rangers, the Frontier Corps and other law enforcement agencies. That has emerged as a crucial issue in view of the high number of casualties caused during operational attacks in the NWFP and FATA.
6. Efficient and professional intelligence agencies have a crucial role to play in preventing terrorist threats. There is a need to build Pakistani intelligence agencies' capacity and ensure better coordination among various agencies and law enforcement departments.
7. The government and media need to create more space for cultural and social activities, provide healthy activities for the youth and ensure proper utilization of funds allocated for youth and cultural development.
8. Islamabad needs to form both short-term and long-term strategies to deal with the threat of radicalization and terrorism in FATA and the NWFP. It should take on board all stakeholders, including the provincial governments, political administration, tribal elders and local political leadership to improve the current poor coordination among them.
9. There is a need to pay more attention to a policy of reconciliation in Balochistan and to remove the grievances of the masses in the province. More development funds, especially for better health and education, must be allocated as a priority.
10. The federal and Sindh governments need to take better security measures, particularly the immediate de-weaponization of Karachi, in order to curb political violence in the city. The government should also organize joint forums, such as all-parties conferences, to develop harmony among political stakeholders in the city.

7. Appendices

7.1 Suicide Attacks 2008

NWFP

| Date | Place | Target | Casualties | | Damage | Suspect Org/ Accept Responsibility |
|---------|-------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| | | | Killed | Injured | | |
| 7 Jan | Kabal Swat | Military base camp | - | 13 include 8 Arm 5 Civ | Camp and Nearby buildings | Taliban |
| 17 Jan | Jhangi Mohalla Peshawar | Muharram procession | 12 include 11 Civ 1 Pol | 25 include 22 Civ 3 Pol | Imambargah | Lashkar-e-Jhangvi |
| 9 Feb | Shabqadar Charsada | ANP's rally | 31 include 2 Pol 29 Civ | 51 Civ | House in which meeting took place was damaged | Banned militant group |
| 16 Feb | Swat | Media information center | 3 include 2 FC 1 Civ | 20 include 3 FC 17 Civ | Media center damaged | Local Taliban |
| 29 Feb | Swat | Funeral prayer of DSP Javed Iqbal | 50 include 4 Pol 46 Civ | 80 include 20 Pol 60 Civ | - | Baitullah Mehsud group has taken responsibility |
| 2 Mar | Dara Adamkhel Kohat | Tribal peace Jirga | 53 Civ | 56 Civ | - | Taliban |
| 17 Mar | Mingora Swat | Police line | 2 Pol | 8 Pol | Police barracks | Taliban militants |
| 6 May | Bannu | Police check post | 7 include 1 Pol 6 Civ | 12 include 4 Pol 4 Arm 4 Civ | - | Taliban militants |
| 10 May | Swat | Police station | - | 5 include 2 FC 3 Pol | Police center, buildings and shops | Taliban militants |
| 18 May | Mardan | Military-run Bakery at Punjab regiment center | 12 include 4 Arm 8 Civ | 23 include 6 Arm 17 Civ | Bakery destroyed | Taliban militants |
| 13 July | Dera Ismail Khan | Shia gathering | - | 4 Civ | Vehicle | Banned sectarian group |
| 19 Aug | D.I. Khan | Police and Shia gathering | 33 include 7 Pol 26 Civ | 54 include 15 Pol 39 Civ | Hospital building | TTP |
| 21 Aug | Charbagh Swat | Check post | 11 include 3 Pol 8 Civ | - | Shops | Local Taliban |

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| 23 Aug | Charbagh Swat | Police Station | 9 include 4 Pol 5 Civ | 20 Pol | Police station building and vehicles | Taliban |
| 6 Sep | Budh Beer Peshawar | Zanghali Check post | 39include 6 Pol 33 Civ | 80 Civ | Check post Market | TTP |
| 16 Sep | Totano Bandai Tehsil Kabal Swat | Security forces Check post | 5 FC | 12 FC | - | Taliban |
| 22 Sep | Madian, Swat | Check Post | 12 Pol | 3 Pol | Check Post | Taliban |
| 2 Oct | Wali Bagh Charsada | ANP President Asfand Yar Wali's house | 5 Civ | 18 Civ | House | TTP |
| 16 Oct | Mingora Swat | Mingora Police Station | 4 include 3 FC 1 Pol | 29 include 14 FC 13 Pol 2 Civ | Police Station Building, Shops, Offices & Houses | Taliban |
| 29 Oct | Bannu | Military check post | - | 14 include 8 Arm 6 Civ | Check post and glasses of nearby buildings damaged | Taliban |
| 31 Oct | Mardan | DIG office | 10 include 5 Civ 5 Pol | 24 include 20 Civ 4 Pol | Office building partially damage | Local Taliban |
| 4 Nov | Doaba Hangu | Army check point | 1 Arm | 10 Arm | Checkpoint | Taliban |
| 6 Nov | Swat | FC Camp | 5 FC | 16 Include 13 FC 3 Civ | Building | Maulana Fazlullah's militants |
| 11 Nov | Peshawar | Sports gala | 4 include 3 Civ 1 Pol | 9 Civ | - | TTP |
| 12 Nov | Shabqadar Charsada | Army camp | 6 include 5 Arm 1 Civ | 11 include 8 Arm 3 Civ | 2 school building | Taliban |
| 17 Nov | Khawazakhela Tehsil Swat | Check post | 4 FC | 7 include 4 Civ 3 FC | Check post | TTP spokesman claimed responsibility |
| 28 Nov | Bannu | Police van | 9 include 5 Civ 4 Pol | 16 include 12 Civ 4 Pol | Vehicles | Banned militant group |
| 1 Dec | Sangota Swat | Check post | 11 Civ | 68 include 66 Civ 2 FC | Check post | Banned militant group |

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 3 Dec | Shabqadar Charsadda | Security forces vehicle | 6 include 4 FC 2 Civ | 8 include 6 FC 2 Civ | Vehicle | Taliban |
| 4 Dec | Kanju Swat | Check post | - | - | Bridge and check post | Taliban |
| 9 Dec | Daggar Buner | Congregation of Eid Prayer | 1Civ | 4 Civ | - | Baitullah Mehsud Group |
| 28 Dec | Shalbandai Buner | Poling station & Girls school | 44 include 42 Civ 2 Pol | 19 Civ | School and 5 shops were destroyed | TTP |

PUNJAB

| Date | Place | Target | Casualties | | Damage | Suspect Org/ Accept Responsibility |
|--------|--|--|--|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| | | | Killed | Injured | | |
| 10 Jan | GPO Choke Lahore | Police | 27 include 23 Pol 4 Civ | 70 include 50 Pol 20 Civ | Vehicles | Banned militant group |
| 4 Feb | R.A Bazar Rawalpindi | Army medical core vehicle | 10 include 9 Arm 1 Civ ⁹ | 36 include 2 Pol 21 Arm 13 Civ | vehicles | Banned militant group |
| 25 Feb | Rawalpindi | Army surgeon | 8 include 3 Arm 5 Civ | 20 include 7Arm 13 Civ | Vehicles | Banned militant group |
| 4 Mar | Lahore | Navy war college | 4 Arm | 20 include 16 Arm 4 Civ | Vehicles and buildings | Banned militant group |
| 11 Mar | Mall road and model town, Lahore (two attacks) | FIA Headquarter and special investigation unit/ advertising agency | 31 include 12 FIA 19 Civ | 217 Civ | FIA office, houses and more than 40 vehicles | Banned militant groups |
| 13 Aug | Dubai Chowk Lahore | Pol | 10 include 3 Pol 7 Civ | 46 include 12 Pol 34 Civ | Vehicles | Banned militant group |
| 21 Aug | Wah Cant Taxila (Two attack) | POF | 85 Civ ¹⁰ | 109 Civ | - | TTP |

| | | | | | | |
|-------|---------|---|-------------------------------|--------|-------|---------------------------|
| 6 Oct | Bhakkar | MNA Rashid Akbar Niwani (PML-N) | 26 include 3 Pol 23 Civ | 62 Civ | House | Banned sectarian group |
|-------|---------|---|-------------------------------|--------|-------|---------------------------|

FATA

| Date | Place | Target | Casualties | | Damage | Suspect Org/ Accept Responsibility |
|--------|----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| | | | Killed | Injured | | |
| 15 Jan | Mohmand agency | Security forces check post | - | - | Vehicle | Taliban militants |
| 23 Jan | Khyber agency | Police check post | 1 Civ | 1 Civ | Vehicle | Banned militant group |
| 1 Feb | Mir North Waziristan | Security forces check post | 6 include 2 FC 3 P-ml 1 Civ | 15 include 5 FC 5 P-ml 5 Civ | Check post and shops | Taliban |
| 11 Feb | North Waziristan | ANP's rally and peace Lashkar | 10 Civ | 13 Civ | Vehicles | Local Taliban |
| 16 Feb | Parachinar Kurram agency | PPP's rally | 51 Civ | 93 Civ | Election office destroyed | Banned sectarian group |
| 1 Mar | Bajure agency | Bajour levies | 2 include 1 Lvs 1 Civ | 23 Include 8 Lvs 15 Civ | Vehicles | Taliban militants |
| 20 Mar | Wana South Waziristan | Army camp | 5 Arm | 12 Arm | Two Vehicles | Taliban militants |
| 1 May | Bara Khyber Agency | Haji Namdar, Tanzeem Amr Bil Maroof wal Nhe Anil Munkir | 2 Civ | 18 Civ | Mosque | TTP Hakeemullah group |
| 20 Sep | Miramshah North Waziristan | Military Vehicle | 12 include 10 Arm 2 Civ | 20 Include 9 Army 11 Civ | Army Trucks | Unknown militants |
| 9 Oct | Landi Kotal Khyber Agency | Oil Tanker carrying oil for NATO Forces | - | - | - | Banned militant group |
| 10 Oct | Khadeezai Orakzai Agency | Alizai tribesmen Jirga | 120 Civ ¹¹ | 200 Civ | - | Taliban of Dara Adamkhel |

| | | | | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|---|----------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| 26 Oct | Haleem Zai Mohmand Agency | FC check post | 1 Civ | 13 include 8 FC 3 P-ml 2 Civ | Check post | - |
| 2 Nov | Azam Warsak South Waziristan | South Waziristan Scouts Check point ¹² | 10 FC | 5 FC | Three Vehicles | Taliban |
| 6 Nov | Bajure Agency | Ant-Taliban tribal Jirga | 25 Civ ¹³ | 50 Civ | - | TTP |
| 20 Nov | Mamond Tehsil Bajure Agency | Head of Mamond Qaumi Lashkar and its members | 12 Civ | 4 Civ | Mosque | Taliban |
| 5 Dec | Kalaya Tehsil Orakzai Agency | Check post and Fair | 6 Civ | 30 Civ | Vehicle and Bridge | Local Taliban |

Islamabad

| Date | Place | Target | Casualties | | Damage | Suspect Org/ Accept Responsibility |
|--------|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|---|
| | | | Killed | Injured | | |
| 2 Jun | F-6/2 Islamabad | Danish Embassy | 8 include 2 Pol 6 Civ | 26 Civ | Danish Embassy, nearby buildings and vehicles | Al-Qaeda links banned militant groups ¹⁴ |
| 6 July | Melody Islamabad | Policemen | 24 include 16 Pol 6 Civ | 54 include 30 Pol 24 Civ | Windows of the adjacent buildings | Banned militant group |
| 20 Sep | Marriott Hotel, Islamabad | Civilians & Foreigners | 80 Civ | 230 Civ | 150 Cars Frontier House, Evacuee Trust, FPSC,PTV & Government residential Building | Fedayeen Islam claimed responsibility |
| 9 Oct | Islamabad | Police Lines | - | 9 Pol | Anti Terrorist Squad Block | Unknown militants |

7.2. Pakistan and South Asia: A Comparison

In South Asian region – Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir – 23098 people were killed during 2008 in terrorism and violent conflicts. More than one third – 7997 (35% of the total) – were killed in Pakistan alone. However, Sri Lanka remained on the top with 8515 (37%) killings followed by Pakistan and then Afghanistan with 5209 (23%) killings, as the following table shows.

Table: Country-wise Killings in South Asia (2008)

| Country | Killings | %age of South Asian region |
|------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|
| Sri Lanka | 8515 | 37% |
| Pakistan | 7997 | 35% |
| Afghanistan | 5209 | 23% |
| India& Kashmir ¹⁵ | 1250 | 5% |
| Nepal ¹⁶ | 127 | 1% |

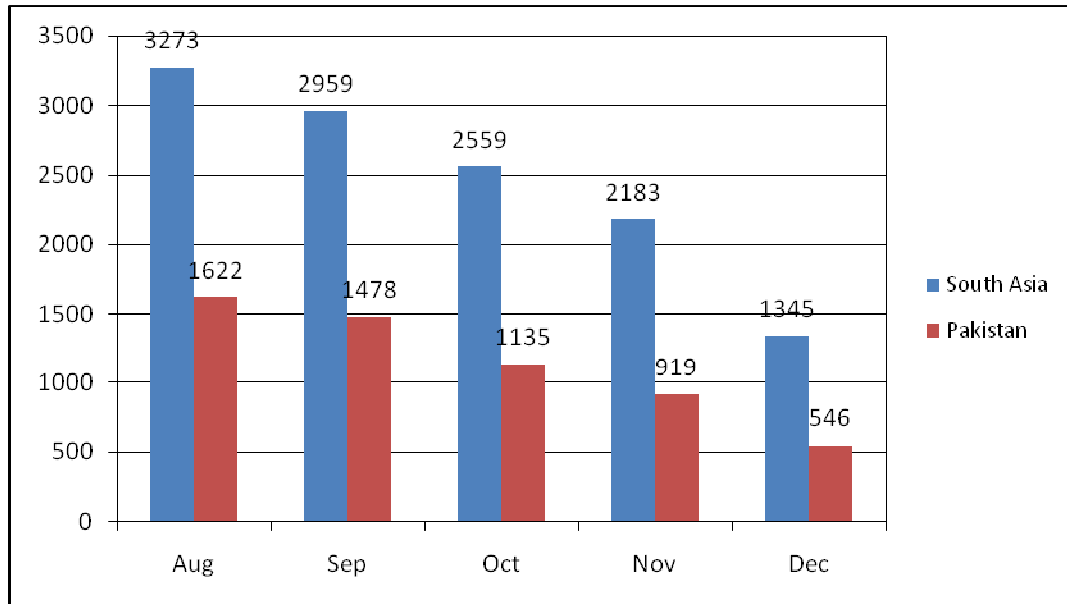
August remained the bloodiest month in Pakistan as well as in South Asia with 3373 killings in South Asia and 1622 in Pakistan. Thus, the month of August accounts for 14 percent of the annual killings in case of South Asia and 20 percent in case of Pakistan.

Table: Comparing Injuries in South Asia and Pakistan

| Month | South Asia (A) | Pakistan (B) | Percentage (B/A) |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|
| Jan | 1707 | 642 | 38% |
| Feb | 1503 | 294 | 20% |
| Mar | 1307 | 296 | 23% |
| Apr | 1377 | 161 | 12% |
| May | 1189 | 175 | 15% |
| Jun | 1614 | 311 | 19% |
| Jul | 2075 | 411 | 20% |
| Aug | 3273 | 1622 | 50% |
| Sep | 2959 | 1478 | 50% |
| Oct | 2559 | 1135 | 44% |
| Nov | 2183 | 919 | 42% |
| Dec | 1345 | 546 | 41% |
| Total | 23098 | 7999 | 35% |

It is interesting to note that a gradual decrease in the killings as well as injuries was witnessed both in South Asia and Pakistan from September onwards, as the following graph shows.

Graph: Decrease in killings in South Asia and Pakistan



Comparing killings in Pakistan during 2008 to other countries tells us that Pakistan accounts for 6297% more killings than that of Nepal, 640% more than that of India and Kashmir, 154% more than that of Afghanistan but 94% less than Sri Lanka.

¹ Interview with Mushtaq Yusafzai, a Peshawar-based journalist, by Muhammad Yusaf, PIPS correspondent, December 21, 2008.

² Khadim Hussain, 'Future in Flames', *Newsline*, August 2008, p. 35.

³ PIPS database .

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Dawn, June 20, 2008.

⁶ Daily Express, July 29, 2008.

⁷ Dawn, June 14, 2008.

⁸ Dawn, June 15, 2008.

⁹ Including a lieutenant colonel and a major.

¹⁰ Jang, August 23, 2008.

¹¹ On the 11th Oct death toll reached 60 to 82 and on 17th Oct death toll reached 82 to 120.

¹² A wing of FC.

¹³ Jirga's head Malik Fazal was also killed.

¹⁴ Al- Qaeda accepted the responsibility of the attack.

¹⁵ Up to Dec, 29, 2008.

¹⁶ Up to Dec, 29, 2008.